another was of a Muslim Turkish family. Enlisted personnel include a large number of conscripts assigned there for training, many of them "Marsh Arabs." Uniforms and equipment, like organization, are derived from the British army, and the army has, of course, a greater variety of modern arms, as well as equipment, than the police. It might be thought that the district would gain from the supply of such a unit, but most of the rations are brought in by lorry from the quartermaster depot in Erbil. The details of training need not concern us. It is a common sight, however, to see a company of infantry struggling up a mountain-side in manoeuvres, and in the summer the valleys may resound with artillery practice.

Officers, when off duty, have free pass to Rowanduz, and it is from this fact that they exercise an important social influence in the town. Enlisted personnel, excepting those few non-commissioned officers who have homes there, are not permitted in Rowanduz save during the daylight hours of Friday. It is some testimony to their desire for diversion that so many make the long climb to the town on Friday, simply to sit in a chaykhana where they can drink tea, talk, and play at backgammon (tawli in colloquial Iraqi Arabic). Military police patrol the streets of Rowanduz, not only on this day, but throughout the week. However, enlisted men have much freer access to Kawlokan, the small collection of houses and a mosque, which marks the site of old Rowanduz beneath the bluff, and there is a

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodnes of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family,

sometimes, alcoholic beverages, and light refreshments, such as nuts, bread, and grilled meat. Activity begins at four or five in the afternoon, and, should a card party be in session, can remain open into the early hours of the morning. The rooms and garden are illuminated with lanterns, and at times an official or officer will loan a battery-operated radio for entertainment. Aside from gambling, however, the principle diversion is conversation, the men seating themselves in little groups according to their preferences. The conversationalists usually depart for their homes between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, one of the servants often accompanying them through the darkened streets with a lantern. Although not nominally members, persons of the aristocratic Kurdish class occasionally appear in the club, sitting by themselves or with some official of their acquaintance. It has been related how Sayyid Ahmad and Karim Agha were visitors in the course of an evening, but such appearances are by no means common, nor do the aristocrats indulge in gambling. As has been said, the officials and officers, unless they are Kurds, do not visit the houses of chieftains. No woman is ever seen in the club.

Aside from the month of Ramadan, during which most assume the appearance of piety, the chief entertainments of the higher officials and officers are drinking and gambling. The drinking-party has been described in a previous section, and is usually associated with a game of cards.

of cards. The game itself is unvarying, as well as its particular form, poker of the type called "five-card stud" in America, one card dealt downward to the player and the other four up. The usual amount of an individual wager is 50 fils (about $0.14), and, in a party of eight players, a typical "pot" contains as much as two dinars ($5.60). Inasmuch as the salary of any official or officer is not large, it follows that an unskillful person can lose money he can ill afford.[1] The gambling debt is becoming a feature of life for the official class in Iraq. Most of the players, however, are familiar with each other, and it need not be supposed that the Arabs, however new it may be to them, are unskilled in the subtleties of card-games. The games are held either in the nadi or in the home of the qaimmaqam, and others attend not solely to play, but to drink and to hold conversation. In addition, the officers play a form of "bingo" for small stakes in their mess, and one or two of them often arrange a cock fight, either of a pair of roosters or of chikaw, the mountain partridge, on which there is heavy betting.

The official class, the upper stratum in the second system, differs significantly from its parallel in the

[1] The salary of a typical mudir, the administrative official of a nahiya, the smallest unit, is about twenty dinars ($56.00 per month and 240 dinars ($672.00) per year. This is about the same income as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah, mentioned above. The mudir, however, is given free quarters and other allowances, and receives an increase in pay every three years until he reaches the rank of a qaimmaqam. It can be seen how such an official feels that he cannot immediately afford marriage.

opposing sides. Occasionally these "bands" can disturb 857
the adult authorities, as in 1950 when some of the [685]
"raiders" took the money of the son of the assistant
commandant of police. Another game is played with a 857
rubber ball and a stick by two teams. These face each 524
other and one of the two "chiefs" hits the ball toward
his opponents with a stick. If the ball is caught by a
member of the opposing side, one of the first team is
eliminated from further participation, and so it continues
until "it can be seen who remains." A third consists in
forming a circle of a dozen or so youths. A ball is thrown
quickly among them until one is expelled for dropping it.
Hide-and-seek is a favorite, as well as throwing stones
or walnuts from a mark on the ground at a hole some dis-
tance away. Jik or knucklebones, obtained from a sheep,
is played by two. One bone is thrown up in the air and
the player endeavors to strike it while still in flight
with the second bone so that both will fall in a certain
way. Something similar to European or American "marbles"
is executed with small wooden balls. The girls commonly
play "house," imitating the domestic activities of their
elders. The older boys, it might be noted, refuse to play
with the girls as unworthy of their dignity. The girls, 868
much more than the boys, are called to perform household 857
tasks, helping the mothers with their work and taking care
of the younger children. It is said that a mother will
cause the oldest daughter to perform almost all of the
domestic activities, instructing her for the role of a

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

are unemployed, devoting their days to leisure. There are no organized adult sports of any sort in the town. Several of the young men who own rifles and shotguns do some hunting, and a great many love excursions into the countryside, such as a picnic at the waterfall of Baykhal behind the town. For everyday entertainment most men prefer the physical inactivity of the guest-rooms, the tea-shops, or the gardens. Tawli or backgammon and dama or checkers are played at great length, while shatrani, chess, has almost disappeared, although it is still remembered from Ottoman times. One thing universally regretted by the townspeople is the disappearance of the wandering story-tellers who, in consideration of a bounty, held forth in the tea-shops or the guest-rooms of the chieftains, nor have they been replaced, for the town boasts no cinema, radios are few in number, and newspapers or books are never regularly received. Some of the townsmen have a considerable repertoire of stories, many concerning such comic figures as Abu Nuwas or Mulla Nasir al-Din, but it is said that they cannot compare with the artistry displayed by the old professionals. A short story of Abu Nuwas, as told in Rowanduz, will provide an example of the type of anecdote:

> One day Abu Nuwas borrowed a small cooking vessel from his neighbor, and on the next, after hiding the original pot, returned one much larger and of greater value. "The pot is different," remarked the neighbor cautiously, puzzled by the change. "The pot gave birth," returned Abu Nuwas, "and I have returned its offspring." "Marvellous!" cried the neighbor, pleased with his gain, "I welcome the son of the pot." Thereafter Abu Nuwas borrowed each

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[68]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[69].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphonistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierachy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Østrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[70]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the